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ABSTRACT

The importance of citizenship, community service, and voluntary organizations to a democratic society is considered, along with evidence that citizen service and influence could diminish in the future. Five roles for higher education in the development of active citizenship and personal community service are also indicated. Problems in relationships with government that result in less independence for voluntary organizations include: dependence on government funding and governmental controls over voluntary institutions; challenges to tax deductions, the consequences when contributions are considered a "tax expenditure," debate about relative roles of governmental and voluntary institutions; challenges to earned income, challenges to advocacy efforts, state laws and local ordinances governing public participation, changes in the definition of public charities and what they can do, and challenges to the property tax exemption. In colleges, matters of citizenship and community service are important topics for teaching and research. Career development for public service, such as public health and teaching, is an important role of colleges, which also can train older students who are volunteer or staff leaders of nonprofit groups. (SW).

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"CITIZENSHIP AND COMMUNITY SERVICE: ARE THEY A CONCERN AND RESPONSIBILITY OF HIGHER EDUCATION?"

KEYNOTE ADDRESS
1985 NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON HIGHER EDUCATION
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President
INDEPENDENT SECTOR

I. Overview

o The United States is the longest-lived democracy in the history of the world.

o This democracy has provided almost all of us with greater freedom and opportunity than any nation of human beings has ever known.

o Among the crucial factors that foster and preserve that democracy and those freedoms are active citizenship and personal community service.

o There are clear signs that citizen participation may not be as vital a part of our society for the current younger generations and those who come after them.

o No leader or leadership institution --- particularly, no educator, educational discipline or educational institution --- can presume that fostering active citizenship to prolong our longest-lived democracy to extend those glorious freedoms for those who come after us, is someone else's business.

II. Getting a Perspective on Voluntary Participation, Giving, and Associations

In any sorting out of relative roles and usefulness, it is important to start with the basic values of American society:

Freedom
Worth and dignity of the individual
Equal opportunity
Justice
Mutual responsibility

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Our fundamental structures for preserving and enhancing those basic values are:

Representative government starting with one person/one vote
Separation of powers
Freedoms of religion, speech and assembly
Free press
A system of justice beginning with due process and presumption of innocence
Universal public education

In turn, the process of citizen participation preserves those values and builds those structures. Simultaneously, citizen involvement provides for individual expression, creativity, alternatives and options, criticism, reform and even outrage. Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan suggests that it may not be too far fetched to ascribe the longevity of our democracy to the availability of outlets for outrage.

There is always a tendency to reach back into history to come up with our examples of the impact of voluntary effort, and the record is glorious -- abolition of slavery, creation of public schools and public libraries, women's suffrage, child labor laws and on and on. But this suggests that those days are over.

President Reagan has provided welcome attention to the voluntary side of America, but along the way, has contributed to a view that in earlier times Americans were far more willing than we are today to help one another and to become involved in causes and public issues. It is almost a given that we are now a less caring society and that we should worry about what's happened to all that neighborliness, public spiritedness and charity.

Actually, the past was not as good as remembered and the present is better than perceived.

A far larger proportion and many more parts of our population are involved in community activity today than at any time in our history. We organize to influence every conceivable aspect of the human condition and are willing to stand up and be counted on almost any public issue. We organize to fight zoning changes, approve bond issues, oppose or propose abortion, improve garbage collection, expose overpricing, enforce equal rights, or protest wars.

As contrasted to those "good old days", in very recent times we have successfully organized to deal with a vast array of human needs and aspirations...rights of women, conservation and preservation, learning disabilities, conflict resolution, Hispanic culture and rights, education on the free enterprise system, the aged, voter registration, the environment, Native Americans, the dying, experimental theatre, international understanding, drunk driving, population control, neighborhood empowerment, control of nuclear power, consumerism, and on and on.

A 1982 Gallup survey commissioned by IS indicated that 47% of adults are volunteers. Thirty-one percent give at least two hours each week and one out of every ten devote at least seven hours every week to their volunteer assignments. The dollar value of all this contributed time is conservatively estimated at $65 billion.

The base of participation is also spreading. There are more young people, more men and more older people. Every economic group is involved. There are more people who have problems themselves. The mutual help movement is the fastest growing side of the voluntary sector. For almost every problem, there is now a group of people who have weathered the storm and are reaching out to help others newly faced with depression, divorce, abuse or heart surgery.

To the surprise of all who have matter of factly assumed that with so many women now in the workforce that it's harder to find female volunteers, the happy reality is that there are more women serving as volunteers. Indeed, the Gallup survey serves up the fascinating information that the woman who works is more likely to volunteer than the woman who does not.

Incidentally, but hardly incidental, it has been interesting and revealing to realize that when one thinks of the giants of this sector, one is about as likely to think of women's names - at least in the past 150 years -- names like Clara Barton, Jane Addams, Mary McLeod Bethune, Susan B. Anthony, Dorothea Dix, Alice Paul, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Dorothy Day, Mother Seton, Carrie Nation, Margaret Sanger, Lucretia Mott, Mary Lasker, and on and on. It's the only one of the three sectors that really taps the full spectrum of the nation's talent.

One of the reasons so many misconceptions exist about volunteering and nonprofit activity generally is that this is an aspect of our national life we take for granted and have never really felt a need to study. Now that there seems to be a growing realization that citizen participation is a vital part of our national character, there is greater interest in having a clearer grasp of the facts, trends and impact.

Misunderstanding exists on the financial side also. Most people assume that foundations and corporations represent a very large proportion of giving in America. As important as their dollars are, the two combined represent only 10% of all that is given. Ninety percent comes from individuals.

Most people assume that wealthy individuals represent the bulk of personal giving but, in fact, just about half of all charitable dollars comes from families with incomes under $25,000. Also, people with incomes under $10,000 contribute about three times more of their income than do people with incomes of $50,000-$100,000 (3.85% compared to 1.35%).

Even in families with incomes of $5,000 or less, the average given in 1981 was $238.00, which was about 5% of their income.

A Gallup survey on giving illustrates that in 1981, 86% of all American adults made contributions to the causes of their choice. We gave $50 billion, an average of $475 per person.

We are the only nation in the world where giving, volunteering and citizen involvement are pervasive characteristics of the total population.

Most of the great movements of our society have had their origins in this independent sector. Some who led those efforts were viewed as unpopular, troublesome, rabble-rousing, and maybe even dangerous. One of our largest responsibilities is to keep open the freedoms that will allow their successors to establish the new causes of tomorrow. There is no greater danger to our liberty than allowing those in power to have any great control over their potential reformers.

III. Some Clear Signs that Citizen Service and Influence Could Diminish in the Future

A. General

There are clear signs that citizen participation and influence in public affairs may not be as vital a part of our society for the younger generations already with us and for those who come after them.

It was concern for these problems and a general desire to foster active citizenship and voluntary participation that IS was formed. Many of these same problems had been highlighted by the Commission on Foundations and Private Philanthropy (Peterson Commission - 1960s) and the Commission on Private Philanthropy and Public Needs (Filer Commission - early 70s).

The Organizing Committee which created IS concluded its report "..The time has come for everyone concerned about this unique aspect of American life to unite in our efforts to preserve an independent sector."

B. Problems in Relationships with Government which Result in an Erosion of Independence for Voluntary Organizations

1. Dependence on Government Funding and Related Governmental Controls over Voluntary Institutions

This country has always relied on public/private partnerships to carry out public services. In all areas of public responsibility, education, health, social services, etc., nonprofit organizations assist in the delivery of public services and are compensated for it. In the past 25 years, this source of income grew far faster than the other two principal sources of income, contributions

and fees for service. For the sector as a whole, it represents the highest proportion of income. This involves grants in aid, formula grants, categorical grants, block grants, project grants, fees for service, interest subsidies, vouchers, loan guarantees, credit insurance, purchase agreements, surplus land grants and many other forms of governmental assistance. The number and complexity of such arrangements and the total and proportion of monies involved require necessary accountability mechanisms, but in many cases impose undue control on the voluntary operation. Under the best of circumstances, dependence on government funding diminishes some degree of independence and in the worst circumstances destroys independence altogether.

2. Challenges to Tax Deductions

By far the largest of IS's current activities involves efforts to convince the Administration and Congress not to remove tax incentives for contributions. Current Treasury proposals if enacted would reduce giving by 21% with higher education being reduced 30%.

3. The Consequences when Contributions are considered a "Tax Expenditure"

For very good reasons, the government keeps track of how much money is lost to the federal treasury when people deduct mortgage payments, health care costs or contributions. The problem is that a number of people within government are beginning to say something like "If these are monies that the government has forgone shouldn't government have more to say about how these contributions are channeled and spent?" This brings prejudice into the arena where it at least belongs.

4. Confusion and Debate about Relative Roles of Governmental and Voluntary Institutions

You in Higher Education know far better than most of us that federal, state and local officials, and even academic administrators, are making a fuller assessment of the relative roles of public and private institutions. This is not limited to education and increasingly involves all three sectors; for example in the current confusion and competition among government, nonprofit and profit-making hospitals.

Last year the Small Business Administration issued a report "Unfair Competition by Nonprofit Organizations with Small Business - An Issue for the 1980s," which in essence says that nonprofit organizations are using their tax exempt advantage to compete unfairly with their profitmaking counterparts and that, in keeping with our commitment of the free interprise system, where a service can be provided by a profit-making organization, it should have the job.

5. Challenges to Earned Income

The IRS and many federal courts have increasingly challenged the "unrelated business income" of nonprofit organizations. This comes at the very time when corporation and foundation contributors and citizen boards are calling on voluntary organizations to be more entrepreneural. The GAO has just been given the go-ahead by the Congressional Joint Committee on Taxation to do a major new study of the "unearned" income of nonprofit organizations with emphasis on testing labs, university research and child care.

6. Challenges to Advocacy Efforts

The ACTION agency's efforts to close down VISTA (Volunteers in Service to America) and other activist efforts, OMB's several challenges to the advocacy rights and activities of voluntary organizations, the Office of Personnel Management's determined exclusion of advocacy organizations from the Combined Federal Campaign are examples of the government's uncomfortableness with advocacy particularly when it represents a vehicle for criticism of public activity. The attitude that voluntary service is to be applauded and advocacy should be curtailed, ignores the reality that much of the best voluntary effort in our history related to those who advocated for most of the public programs we take pride in today.

7. State Laws and Local Ordinances Governing Public Participation

In the name of orderliness and protection of the people, a growing number of states and communities are narrowly defining who can petition, march, raise funds or do other things to attract public attention and support for public causes. Twice in the last three years we have successfully challenged state laws and local ordinances which would have severely limited the free speech and assembly rights of voluntary organizations.

8. Changes in the Definition of Public Charities and What They Can Do

There are regular efforts through regulation or legislation to more narrowly define what is a public charity (501(C)(3) organization and what these organizations can do. For instance, two years ago we successfully challenged an internal IRS ruling that would have resulted in major restrictions on the voter education rights of nonprofit groups. Currently, we are working to avoid a change in the official definition of religion.

9. Challenges to the Property Tax Exemption

An increasing number of communities, strapped for funds for essential services, are challenging the property tax exemption of many nonprofit organizations and imposing user fees. In Washington, D.C. for instance, a decision, fortunately beaten back, would have restricted a church's property tax exemption to the proportion of the organization's time devoted strictly to worship. The organization's social services would not have counted.

10. The List Goes On

These are just examples of challenges to the independence of nonprofit organizations. Each is serious of itself but in the composite they represent a frightening threat to the future capacity of such organizations to freely represent the organized influence of citizens.

Though it may sound self-serving, I am absolutely comfortable that had not INDEPENDENT SECTOR been formed 5 years ago, states and counties would have continued in their trend towards tighter restriction on charities, the IRS would have limited greatly the voter education rights of voluntary organizations, the Office of Management and Budget would have succeeded in its A-122 end-run around the freedom of voluntary organizations to represent their clients and causes, the Small Business Administration would succeed in its challenge to the entreprenural and earned income rights of nonprofit organizations and the Treasury would get away with further undercutting the encouragement of charitable contributions. Our largest single purpose is to protect the independence of voluntary organizations to be the free agents of free people.

C. Impact of Federal Cutbacks

I won't take your time to repeat many of the consequences of federal budget cuts for education and other essential public services of voluntary organizations, but it is important to call attention to the utter contradiction between reducing support of such organizations by both direct budget cuts and removal of some of the tax incentives while at the same time calling upon voluntary organizations to expand their services to people.

D. Relative Declines in Giving

For at least the past 15 years, though the totals of contributions have risen, the proportion they represent of Personal Income and of Gross National Product have declined, even at a time when the disposable income of the significant majority of Americans has risen dramatically. Also, the average contributions of wealthy individuals have been declining steadily. Since 1981, the giving by persons with incomes between $200,000 and $500,000 has dropped 17% and for persons with incomes over $1 million has dropped 39%.

E. Indications of Less Commitment by Educated Young People Toward Community Service

A recent study by Yankelovich, Skelly and White for the Rockefeller Brother's Fund has found that younger persons between the ages 18 and 34 do not place community service high among their values. Conversely, the study finds the primary motivation for community service and giving relate to religious conviction and to commitment to community, neither of which is strong generally with people under 35.

Though it's less objective, my own experience supports this trend. In regular meetings with groups, I find an alarming lack of awareness of the importance of voluntary participation, giving and associations. Young people in particular are almost cynical about giving and volunteering and especially about philanthropic and voluntary organizations; yet, these are the same people who appropriately remind us how important it is to "do your own thing" or "have control of your own destiny" or to "be empowered." They don't seem to grasp that it is often through our voluntary organizations that these opportunities take hold.

F. Lack of Public Awareness of the Role and Importance of Citizen Participation

INDEPENDENT SECTOR's Organization Committee said, "One of the problems faced by the sector is that it is both everywhere and invisible. We are all involved with many of its organizations but don't recognize its roles and even its existence as a distinctive sector. People take for granted the freedoms it provides and sustains. We are not really aware of what a precious aspect of our freedom is embodied in it."

G. Awareness of and Training for Active Citizenship and Personal Community Service are Rarely Part of Academic Efforts to Help Develop "The Educated Person"

Alan Pifer, former President of the Carnegie Corporation and member of the board of AAHE, went through 50 or 60 textbooks used in civics, history, social studies, and the like and found no reference to philanthropy and voluntary organizations. He points out that one can go through a full and supposedly thorough formal education without ever hearing or reading about the major role of the voluntary sector in American life.

If these problems and trends persist, and if responsible leaders and institutions don't accentuate the absolute essentiality of active citizenship and voluntary action, this central factor of our freedom will no longer be sufficient to the task. In his seminal work, "Major Challenges to Philanthropy", commissioned by INDEPENDENT SECTOR, Robert Payton, President of the Exxon Education Foundation ended with this frightening thought, "...the new Britanica overlooks philanthropy, as far as I can tell, although its predecessors dealt with it quite adequately. Thats the way it goes: one day you take it for granted, and the next day it's gone."

IV. Greater Responsibility and Participation by Higher Education

A. General

I was told that one of the reasons I was asked to do this talk is because I am not part of "the education establishment," and that at this stage, you wanted someone who could come at this topic a bit unfettered.
The danger in that approach is that the outsider tends to put in all kinds of disclaimers and qualifications and hesitates to be very definite about anything. Harry Truman is reported to have suggested that the best person to ask for advice or opinion should only have one arm. People like that, he said, are least likely to respond "on the one hand this, but, on the other hand, that."

I want to be fairly definite in sharing with you how this relative outsider sees your responsibility and then leave it to you to know how much of it fits.

Being unemcumbered with your view of all the factors, I can say that it is absolutely clear to me that, 1) educated persons in our society should have a far better grasp of how this country does its public business, 2) they should be conditioned for the lifetime obligations and rewards of community service and 3) the education system at all levels has a critical responsibility for that result.

B. Five Roles for Higher Education

Without trying to be all inclusive, let me indicate five roles for higher education in the development of active citizenship and personal community service.

1. Research

Topics so important to our basic freedoms as active citizenship and personal community service should not be considered as soft or peripheral or unworthy of scholarly pursuit. In that same paper, Payton, who serves as Chairperson of INDEPENDENT SECTOR's Research Committee, says "there are few fields of such vast magnitude that have stimulated such little curiousity among scholars."

It is our Research Committee's aim that more academic disciplines and institutions will take an active interest in this sector so that it will become a legitimate and attractive field for scholarship. We don't even know much about the origins of all this pluralism and participation and there is little literature to describe or attest to its significance. Even well-educated people usually guess that it probably stems from the Protestant ethic and they usually recall only DeTocqueville having written much about it.

That is a large part of why I did the book, **AMERICA'S VOLUNTARY SPIRIT,** to try to spark greater awareness and interest in the origins, dimensions and impact and to give us all someone other than DeTocqueville to quote.

In the introduction to the book, I call attention to this absolutely basic matter of understanding the origins:

"From where does all this generosity stem? Obviously, ours is not the only participatory society in the world. Giving, volunteering and nonprofit organizations exist in many countries, but nowhere else are the numbers, proportions and impact so great.

"The comparative studies are sketchy, but what facts there are indicate that this country's degree of organized participation is unique. In a recent speech, "A Global View of Philanthropy," J.D. Livingston Booth of Great Britain, President of Interphil (International Standing Conference on Philanthropy) said, "Outside the United States there is very little recognition that an independent voluntary sector even exists, let along that it has a wholeness, a role, and a significance in free societies."

"Why is there so much more of this activity here? It's not easy to sort out, but if we hope to sustain it into future generations, we need to understand the phenomenon better than we do. The research and literature are sparse."

I submit that the matters of active citizenship and voluntary association should become a part of the agenda, including the valid tenure track for scholars in history, religion, government, philosophy, economics, psychology, sociology, arts, law and about every other discipline.

Research on this topic is academically legitimate and absolutely essential if we are to have a firm grasp of the roots and persistence of our liberty.

2. Teaching

For all the same reasons, the matters of citizenship and community service are important to teach.

The educated person must understand 1) the relationship between citizenship and freedom and 2) the relationship between the rights of citizens to organize themselves and the freedom of citizens.

We have never found a better substitute for safeguarding freedom than placing responsibility in the hands of the people and expecting them to fulfill it. We can be disappointed at times in their performance, but the ultimate answer is still the democratic compact, recently beautifully and bluntly restated by John Gardner:

"Freedom and responsibility,
"Liberty and duty,
"That's the deal."

The lessons of the sixties and seventies have taught us how essential it is that people have greater control of their own destinies. Whether it's expressed as doing one's own thing or empowerment, we are all now rigidly alert to the value and the joy of having options and alternatives, and having the power of citizens to experiment, to influence and, where necessary, to reform.

In essence, we have been painfully relearning the fundamental lessons of our ancestors, that independence -- of persons and of societies -- is the pre-eminent value.

That lesson has come so hard for many of us that we are suspicious and wary of any interconnections that in any way might detract from our independence. Along the way of our learning, we have become skeptical, bordering on cynical, about most of our institutions, even those created to serve or unite us. We want a religious experience, but are cool toward organized religion. We want democratic government to serve the common need, but are frightened and critical of the bigness of it. We want philanthropy and voluntary organizations for the support of our causes, but we don't want any self-appointed groups to define the public good.

We are aware how many of our aspirations and problems require joint action, but we are not comfortable with cooperation. What has happened is that our attention to independence has vastly out-distanced our attention to the interdependence so necessary to almost everything we want to accomplish.

I suggest that we have now come to the absolutely essential next stage, which involves building a capacity for interdependence that will enhance, not stifle, our uniqueness as individuals and as a society.

Out of our larger efforts to be sure that all educated people understand the need for active citizenship and personal community service, will come leaders who will be able to deal with the enormously complex problems that are facing our communities, nation and world.

Perhaps the most urgent challenge faced by all of us who are trying to find solutions to staggering public problems is to build or rebuild institutions capable of representing the interdependence of so many diverse people. This will depend on whether educated men and women understand how this country really works and how much the future does depend on them.

Future leaders will have to have these four characteristics:

1) A passionate belief in participatory democracy, including the multiplication of participants and the dispersion of power.

2) A capacity to enlarge and to survive the democratic cacophony in order to have a chance to hear the individual shrieks --- and songs.

3) An ability to educate the public, including the loners and single issue players, so that we all are better informed of the inter-relationships between our interests and the larger society in which those interests must be pursued.

4) An ability to make decisions, and to say no, sometimes perhaps even to you and me.

Developing an educated citizenry and those leaders capable of dealing with the complexity and enormity of today's issues cannot be left to chance. In the past, most of our leaders were influenced significantly by that part of their higher education experience which was designed deliberatly to orient and train them for community responsibility.

3. Career Development for Public Service

Without getting into the middle of your marathon debate about education versus training, it is obvious that higher education does educate a great many people for a number of professions and specialties including specific areas of public service such as public health, public administration and teaching.

There is an immediate and urgent need to be certain that in all such existing tracks, people are given a far better understanding of how this country does its public business. For example, in my own area of public administration, most graduates are trained only for their important roles in civil service and come out with little or no grasp of such basics as citizenship education, the role of

philanthropy and voluntary organizations in influencing public policy, or the role of voluntary organizations in carrying out public services. I went to the Maxwell School which even has in its title the word "citizenship," but by the time I got there and to this day, the focus has related almost entirely to the internal workings of government and has pretty much ignored by the broader elements of citizenship.

Thus, even in the one area of professional development where it would seem to be most obvious that people should come away with a grasp of how this country operates, the matters of citizenship and community service are pretty much overlooked.

Beyond the existing tracks we need to develop more specific ways by which young people are given exposure and learning opportunities relating to public service including the management of philanthropic and voluntary organizations.

Many young people today are interested in public service, but they have little grasp of what the opportunities are and little training for them. Years ago, schools of social work took a lead in training for "community organization", but much of that profession is occupied now with private practice and psychological assessment and relief.

I know of no sector of our society so central to our well-being and so dependent on human resources where so little attention is given to people development.

4. Attention to Older Students who are Volunteer or Staff Leaders of Nonprofit Organizations

Institutions of higher education have an enormous opportunity and obligation to help citizens understand the larger framework in which they work, and to be prepared for their tasks as volunteer and staff leaders.

Recognizing that most people do not receive much grounding on the basics of citizenship and community service and are not likely to for many years to come, colleges and universities can perform an enormous service by providing older students with courses which provide grounding in such basics as the relative roles and powers of mayors, city councils, and school boards, the relative roles of city, county and state government, alternative service delivery systems, public financing and on and on.

More specifically, these institutions can provide staff with needed training in marketing, planning, program evaluation, fund raising and on and on.

There is a need and a hunger for assistance to citizens who serve as board members and in other volunteer capacities. There is general acknowledgment of the important role of citizen boards for both governmental and nonprofit organizations but extraordinary little attention to helping citizens to fulfill these roles. I have just completed a two-year project on board development which will include the publication next month of **THE BOARD MEMBER'S BOOK.** In the course of efforts to identify good resource materials I realized that the important topic of board development has not achieved sufficient status to have generated its own body of literature.

There is just about no place where a conscientious volunteer can turn for guidance on the effectiveness of boards and the role of board members in planning, evaluation, fundraising and the other essential functions. The topic, indeed the whole subject of the independent sector can be characterized as in a "pamphleteering" stage or in the jargon of librarians as "fugitive" or "ephemeral" material. The literature is still a long way from giving the sector the intellectual underpinnings it deserves.

Even the institutions which make a great deal of their income on attracting older students and which purport to respond to the needs of their communities, seem rarely to provide courses that relate to the responsibilities of the thousands of persons who serve on the boards of churches and synagogues, museums and other cultural organizations, hospitals and health agencies and all the other kinds of nonprofit organizations which depend on citizen leadership.

5. Citizenship Education

I am often involved in consultation with foundations that are trying to figure out how they can have greater influence on the major issues of the day. Very frequently, after I have outlined some of these issues such as making our cities work, improving public education systems, assuring clean air, ending racism, conquering cancer or controlling nuclear arms, I get the response that those issues are beyond the foundation's resources and ability to influence. I always come back at them that if these are the major issues of our times, then our fundamental institutions have got to get involved. So too with institutions of higher education.

Our democracy still depends on informed citizen participation and we will presage the decline of our civilization if we think the issues are utterly beyond citizen comprehension. We can be discouraged with the complexity of todays issues and concerned that the people won't make the right decisions for themselves, their families and their communities, but there is wisdom and comfort in Thomas Jefferson's advice, "I know of no safe depository of the ultimate powers of society, but the people themselves; and if we think them not enlightened enough to exercise their control with a wholesome discretion, the remedy is not to take it from them, but to inform their discretion by education."

At the very least, your institutions represent a valuable resource to help interpret these issues and the options open to us. Sometimes people in the hard sciences feel that it is a waste of their time and not necessarily their responsibility to help to interpret these matters to lay persons. I note though, that they are willing and surprisingly able to interpret even such obscurities as DNA and nuclear fission to interested reporters; I submit that no part of our society can shirk a share of the responsibility of an informed electorate. It is fair to ask what your institutions are doing, "to inform their discretion by education".

V. Conclusion

To come full cycle, the five basic points are these:

o The United States is the longest-lived democracy in the history of the world.

o This democracy has provided almost all of us with greater freedom and opportunity than any nation of human being has ever known.

o Among the crucial factors that foster and preserve that democracy and those freedoms are active citizenship and personal community service.

o There are clear signs that citizen participation may not be as vital a part of our society for the current younger generations and those who come after them.

o No leader or leadership institution, -- particularly, no educator, educational discipline or educational institution --- can presume that fostering active citizenship to prolong our longest lived democracy to extend those glorious freedoms to those who come after us, is someone else's business.